BOSTON'S NEW HIGH-RISE APARTMENTS: A STUDY OF THE RESIDENTS AND THEIR PREFERENCES

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INTRODUCTION

During the last decade, Boston experienced a significant economic revival and reversal of a previous decade of decay and stagnation. Following the Second World War, there was a dramatic decline in Boston's residential population. The upper- and middle-income families followed prosperity out of the city, attracted to the suburbs by easily financed housing and new schools. The quality of the living environment in the central city began to deteriorate, and it was loudly prophesized that downtown would soon be home to the very rich, the poor, and the strange. But over the decade of the sixties, there was a resurgence of job growth, an office building boom, and a stabilization of the city's population.

The core area of Boston has played a special role in the city's renaissance. It has experienced an important increase in new, quality office space, middle- and upper-income high-rise apartments, and an increase in and upgrading of cultural, entertainment, and supporting facilities. Since the construction of the Prudential Center in 1968, the skyline of the downtown has changed dramatically and the potential remains for this resurgence to continue.

To note the increase in the number of residential and office towers in the city, though, is not to argue that growth per se is good. In fact, the question as to the optimum level of growth and development is one of the most prominent issues currently faced by the city. A number of positive elements such as additional jobs, increased tax base,

and physical renewal can be cited. Still, we are in a new era of development, and projects can no longer proceed without a concern for the environment, factors of scale and design, and considerations of costs and benefits to the city and its citizens.

All of this brings into prominence the need to assess the many implications of new office and residential development on the city. A number of questions must be addressed:

- Who are the people who live and work in these buildings? Where do they come from and why? How do they compare to other residents of the city?
- What is the impact of these people on downtown Boston? Do they use the opportunities and services of the city, and are they satisfied?
- What is the potential of this market for the future? What data can be gathered to help understand how to capitalize on this potential?
- And at a more general level, what are the ramifications of this form of development for additional city costs such as police, fire, schools, etc.? To what extent does the property tax from these buildings and the spending pattern of their residents and office workers directly benefit and offset additional city costs?

To answer all of these questions is a complex and value-laden task. As an important step in this direction, thorough interviews were conducted with a selected sample of the residents and office workers of the new downtown towers. This volume reports on the first part of that survey, a study of the residents of new high-rise apartments. A companion volume, "Boston's New High Rise Office Buildings: A Study of the Workers and Their Preferences," reports on the results of the office worker aspect of the study.

The analysis that follows is divided into five sections: (1) a brief background on housing in the downtown, the apartments surveyed, and the methodology employed; (2) an examination of who the people are that live in the new downtown apartments; (3) a review of where the residents come from and why; (4) a discussion of their satisfaction; and (5) an examination of some of the implications for the city.

AN OVERVIEW ON DOWNTOWN HOUSING AND THE SURVEY APPROACH

The downtown area plays an important role in the city's housing market. Although the downtown land area represents less than 8 percent of the city's land area, it contains almost all the vital business, financial, and government facilities of the city and, to a large extent, the metropolitan region. It also contains 25,439, or 12 percent, of the city's occupied units and 8 percent of the city's 1970 population. Included are some of the most diverse and interesting residential neighborhoods in the city: the predominately Italian North End, Chinatown, the brick and brownstone mansions and rowhouses of Beacon Hill and Back Bay, and the recent revival areas of the South Cove-Bay Village and the waterfront. Part of the special charm of Boston is that these established neighborhoods are inter-mixed with the usual business, governmental, and cultural activities of the downtown. Such communities supplement, support, and add vitality to the activity of the city core.

As mentioned earlier, downtown Boston has also become the focus for much of the residential development in the city, both through the construction of new units and the conversion of commercial and retail

space to residential. Better than 5,000 units have been completed since 1960, most for middle- and upper-income households; and another 1,800 units are under construction or being converted. It is the residents of these new units in particular who were the focus of the surveys conducted and who will be the subject of this volume.

Surveys of residents and office workers were conducted for the Boston Redevelopment Authority by the Survey Research Program of the University of Massachusetts and the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard. A selected sample was drawn from 4,674 apartment units found in 13 newly constructed (since 1960) apartment projects. (See Figure 1 for the location and listing of these projects.) These projects were either in or near the downtown and are considered representative of modern downtown high-rise apartments. Where possible, the interviews were conducted by telephone. In case telephone interviews were impossible, personal interviews were made to ensure that the sample would be representative of the entire study population. Out of a selected sample of 208 eligible apartment addresses, 163 interviews were completed for a response rate of 78 percent. Appendix A to this volume contains full details of the survey design and methodology, and a copy of the survey questionnaire is provided as Appendix B.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THE NEW DOWNTOWN APARTMENTS?

An important dimension of the market for new apartments in the core area is the characteristics of the households occupying these dwelling units. Previous studies in Boston(1) and other cities(2) have shown that the residents of such apartments constitute a readily distinguishable group. Based upon this previous experience, a number of impressions or hypotheses regarding the composition of this group were formed which can be tested and compared with the current survey results. Such exploration is important in determining the social, demographic, and economic implications to the downtown area and to the city in promoting this type of housing.

For example, this type of housing has been known to appeal predominately to childless households because of practical economic and social considerations. The degree to which this is true is important in that schools and other facilities for children could represent significant costs to the city.

Various types of age distribution might be postulated for this group. Based on the higher rent levels and an assumption from past experience that higher incomes generally occur for those over 40, a bias toward an older group might be expected. (This was the result of the 1957 survey of Philadelphia.) On the other hand, due to the number of students and unrelated individuals in the city, it is also

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(1) "The Prudential Towers and Charles River Park Apartments: The Effect of High Rise on Boston's Population," BRA, Research Department, July 1970.

(2) Residential Renewal in the Urban Core, by Rapkin and Grigsby, 1957 presents the result of survey and special census studies embodied in a comprehensive demand analysis for middle- and upper-income housing in Philadelphia.

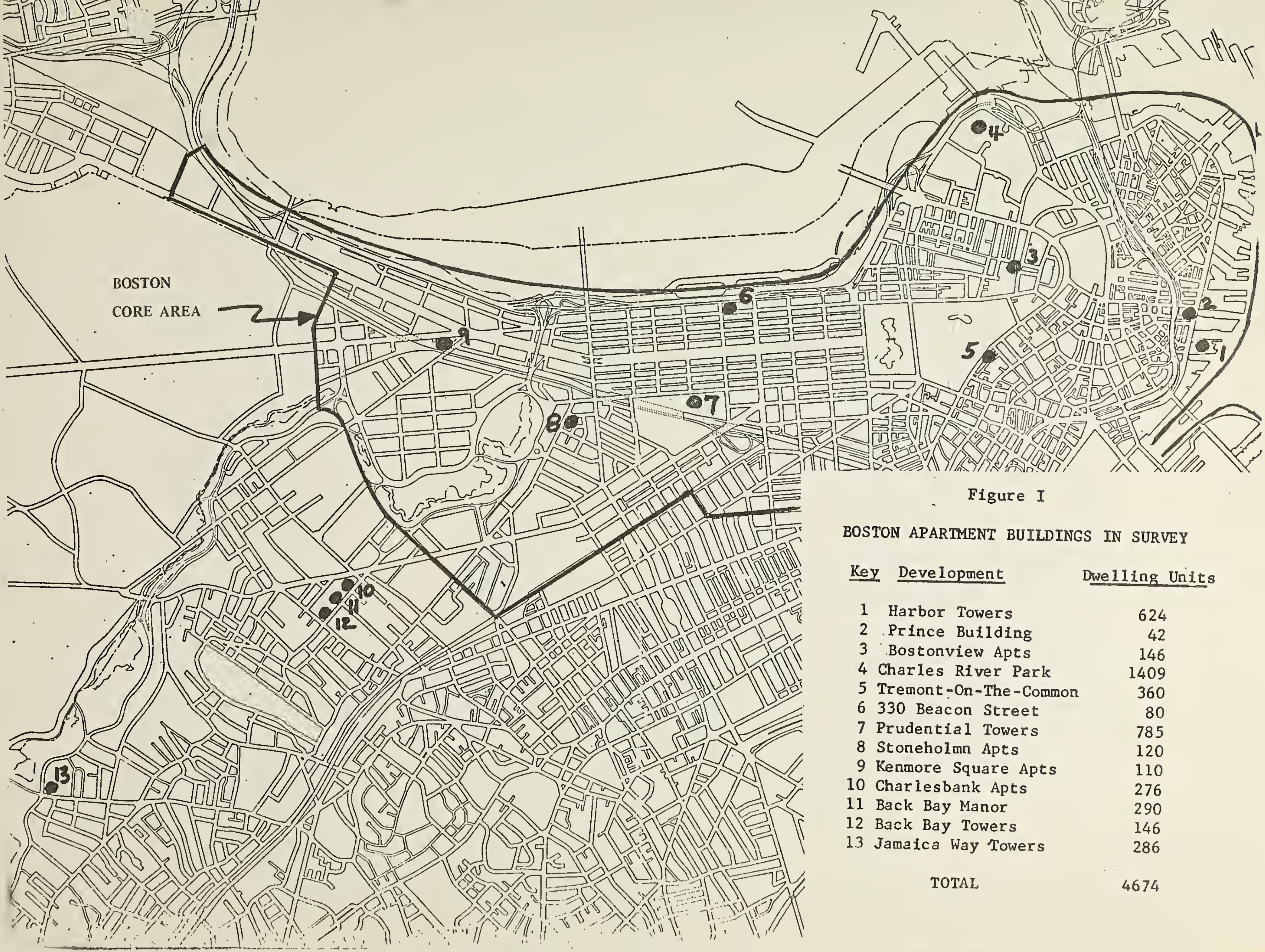

Figure I

BOSTON APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN SURVEY

Key	Development	Dwelling Units
1	Harbor Towers	624
2	Prince Building	42
3	Bostonview Apts	146
4	Charles River Park	1409
5	Tremont-On-The-Common	360
6	330 Beacon Street	80
7	Prudential Towers	785
8	Stoneholmn Apts	120
9	Kenmore Square Apts	110
10	Charlesbank Apts	276
11	Back Bay Manor	290
12	Back Bay Towers	146
13	Jamaica Way Towers	286
	TOTAL	4674

possible to anticipate a distribution biased toward a younger population and a "doubling up" of young, unrelated individuals with lower incomes to increase their residential purchasing power. Answers to these questions are important in terms of understanding neighborhood composition and compatibility of the new with existing residents.

Further, the occupations of this group and where they are employed have a significant bearing on what the future demand for this housing may be.

Household income and rent levels were anticipated to be high, but the magnitudes of how high, together with spending patterns and housing attitudes, are important in assessing present and potential economic impact on downtown retail and other activity.

The following sections will present data comparing these high-rise households with the city as a whole and with the surrounding downtown neighborhoods in the following areas:

- household composition
- presence of children
- marital status
- income
- rent level
- education
- occupation
- location of work

Compared to the characteristics of city residents as a whole, wide variations exist. However, when compared to the characteristics of residents of some of the surrounding downtown neighborhoods, particularly Back Bay and Beacon Hill, a great deal of similarity and compatibility can be found.

Household Composition

The family composition of those living in the new high-rise structures is not typical of Boston's population in general. Over 90 percent of the households contain only one or two persons, with one-person households representing about 50% of all apartment units surveyed. The comparable city wide figure for one-person households is 29 percent. However, the household size of the high-rise residents is very similar to that of the households in the Back Bay-Beacon Hill area of the city (see Table 1), with the exception that the high-rise's have a somewhat higher proportion of two person households.

The high rises are selected as a place to live by people who do not have children: only 3 percent of the households have children under 18 years old present, whereas in the city as a whole, 42 percent of the households have children under 18.

Once again, though, the downtown apartments are similar to the composition in the Back Bay-Beacon Hill area where only 4 percent have children under 18. (Table 2 shows how dramatically this differs from essentially all other areas of the city.)

The strong propensity for high-rise residents to live in one- or two-person households without children is a clear reflection of the general life style of those who are currently choosing to live downtown. It is further reflected by the tendency of fewer of these residents to be married. As Table 3 shows, only 35 percent are currently married as compared to the citywide percentage of 56 percent.

Table 1

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD BY SELECTED AREAS OF BOSTON

Size of Household (persons)	Area: Back Bay-Beacon Hill*	Area: High Rise (N=162)	Area: Boston, Total*
1	59%	50%	29%
2	29	44	29
3	7	3	15
4	3	1	11
5	1	2	7
6+	1	0	9
Total	100%	100%	100%
Mean	1.6	1.6	2.8

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* Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, First Count Summary Tape; Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins, BRA Research Department.

Table 2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

	Residential Area**									
Number of Children	High-Rise Apartments (N=163)	Allston-Brighton (N=64)	Back Bay-Beacon Hill (N=69)	Charlestown-East Boston-South Boston-North End (N=80)	Dorchester-Mattapan (N=52)	Jamaica Plain-Roslindale (N=60)	Hyde Park-West Roxbury (N=74)	North Dorchester (N=78)	Roxbury-South End (N=75)	Total City (N=552)
None	97%	64%	96%	57%	54%	33%	54%	41%	64%	58%
One	1	17	4	12	10	13	12	8	17	12
Two	1	5	*	15	15	22	12	27	8	13
Three	1	6	*	5	8	10	15	9	1	6
Four or More	*	8	*	11	13	22	7	15	10	11
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*   Less than 0.5%

** Source for residential areas (other than high-rise apartments) "How the people See Their City: Boston 1959," Survey Research Program, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, page 25.

Table 3

MARITAL STATUS OF HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS

Marital Status	High-Rise (N=156)	City of Boston*
Married	35%	56%
Never Married	45	26
Widowed	12	11
Separated, Divorced	8	7
Total	100%	100%

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* "How The People See Their City: Boston 1969," Survey Research Program, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, page 86.

Household Income

A comparison of the income levels of Boston's households with those of the new apartment renters clearly demonstrates the middle- and upper-class composition of the latter. It also suggests that residents in the new downtown housing have extremely high purchasing power, particularly when compared to other residents of the city.

In 1970, only 35 percent of the city's households had incomes of more than $10,000 (Table 4). In contrast, 81 percent of the households in the residential towers have incomes of more than $10,000. At higher income levels the disparity is even greater. The percentage of new high-rise households making more than $25,000 per year is ten times that of the city's 1970 households. With a median household income of over $18,000, relative to the city median of $7,835,[3] the high-rise residents represent a group with extremely high income levels. On a per capita basis this group, with smaller households, is significantly wealthier by a factor of over five times that of the city as a whole.

Rent Levels

Median gross rent for the apartment units in the study population is $300 per month as opposed to the 1970 city median of $126 per month. The exclusiveness of these new apartments is highlighted by the fact that in 1970 less than 2 percent of the city's units had rents of $300 or more per month.

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(3) These median incomes are not precisely comparable for several reasons. First, the city "household" figure (from the 1970 U.S. census) includes a number of students with low incomes, thus lowering the citywide median household income. The corresponding 1970 citywide family income was $9,133 which may be a more useful figure for comparison with the high-rise resident's median income. Second, growth in real income and inflation occuring over the 2½ year period between the U.S. census and the performance of the high-rise survey would reduce somewhat, the cited income difference.

Table 4

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS AND CITY RESIDENTS BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Income	Core Area Renters (N=151)	City of Boston*
$ 0-7,999	9.9%	50.6%
8,000-9,999	8.6	14.5
10,000-14,999	19.2	21.0
15,000-24,999	31.8	11.0
25,000-+	30.5	2.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%
Median	$18,368.	$7,835.

* Calculations by Research Department, Boston Redevelopment Authority, based upon 1970 U.S. Census Data.

Education

The amount of education high-rise residents have is considerably greater than that of the adult population of Boston and that of the metropolitan area. Table 5 demonstrates that over 85 percent of the high-rise dwellers have education beyond the high school level, whereas for city residents as a whole, this figure is only 30 percent. Over 25 percent of the high-rise residents have postgraduate degrees.

Daily Activity and Place of Employment

A high proportion, 80 percent, of the high-rise households have one or more members who are employed full time. The remaining households which do not have any workers are about evenly divided between those who are retired and those who are in school, laid off, or involved in other activities (see Table 6).

Over three quarters of the employed high-rise dwellers work in the city, and one half work in the downtown area, reflecting the primary locational objective of being convenient to place of employment (see Table 7). In terms of the proportion of those working in and out of Boston, no difference exists between the overall city of Boston work force and those living in a high rise. What is significant is that a high proportion, almost 25 percent, of the high-rise workers choose to live in the city and become "reverse commuters," thus demonstrating that the appeal of the city as a place to live goes beyond proximity to work.

Table 5

EDUCATION OF HIGH-RISE RESIDENT ADULTS,

CITY OF BOSTON ADULTS, AND METROPOLITAN AREA ADULTS

Education Level	High-Rise (N=162)	Boston*	Metropolitan Boston*
Less than high school graduation	3%	37%	29%
High School graduate only	12	33	39
Any College	85	30	32
Total	100%	100%	100%

EDUCATION OF HIGH-RISE AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS

Education Level	High-Rise (N=162)	City of Boston** (N=535)
8 years or less	1.9%	20 %
Some high school	.6	17
High school graduate	11.7	33
Some college	20.4	18
College Graduate	39.5	12
Higher Degree	25.9	
Total	100.0%	100.0%

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* "How the People See Their City: Boston 1969," Survey Research Program, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, page 16.

** Ibid., page 87.

Table 6

NEW CORE AREA APARTMENT DWELLERS, BY DAILY ACTIVITY

Daily Activity	Activity of Household Primary Worker or Household Head (N=163)	Household Primary Worker Employed (N=124)
Employed within city core	39.7%	50.0%
Employed elsewhere in city	21.1	26.6
Employed outside city	18.6	23.4
Retired	9.2	-
Attending school	3.7	-
Other (laid off, unspecified, etc.)	6.7	-
Total	100.0%	100.0%

* Household primary worker is defined as the household head if employed, if the household head is not working, then the primary worker would be the most senior employed household member. The N for this table is 163.

Table 7

HIGH-RISE APARTMENT DWELLERS AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS

HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY WORKER BY PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

<table>
<tr><th>Location</th><th colspan="2">High-Rise*</th><th colspan="2">City of Boston</th></tr>
<tr><td>Boston total</td><td></td><td>76.6%</td><td>76.0%</td><td>76.0%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Core</td><td>50.0%</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Remainder</td><td>26.6</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Outside of Boston total</td><td></td><td>23.4</td><td></td><td>24.0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inner suburb</td><td>10.5</td><td rowspan="2">20.2</td><td rowspan="2">21.3</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Outer suburb</td><td>9.7</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Outside SMSA</td><td>3.2</td><td></td><td>2.7</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>100.0%</td><td>100.0%</td><td>100.0%</td><td>100.0%</td></tr>
</table>

* Household primary worker is defined as the household head if employed, if the household head is not working, then the primary worker would be the most senior employed household member. The N for this table is 124. There were 131 households or 80.4 percent of all households with at least one worker. (There were 7 responses which could not be categorized.)

Occupation and Type of Employment

The occupations of the dwellers surveyed reflect the income and education levels previously noted. Over 75 percent of the workers are either managers or professionals, with the next largest group, 13 percent, being clerical workers. This compares with the citywide resident figures of 22.5 percent manager-professional and 26.9 percent clerical. When the occupations of the tenants of the new residential towers are compared with other households in approximately the same geographic area, a smaller difference in occupation is observed. For example, in the Back Bay-Beacon Hill planning district 46.3 percent of the work force is in the manager-professional category, and 27.5 percent is in the clerical category (Table 8).

The types of business that the household head is associated with are listed in Table 9. Over 70 percent of the businesses can be identified in four types: professional services to the public (21.5 percent), government (13.4 percent), finance, real estate, and insurance (13.4 percent), and services to business (12.1 percent). These businesses are those associated with the service industries which represent the major area of job growth in Boston in the recent decade.

Age and Other Characteristics

Initial expectations were that the residents of these high-rise towers would tend to have concentrations in particular age groups, either for the elderly or for the young. Interestingly this did not turn out to be the case. In fact, Table 10 shows that the age distribution of household heads living in the luxury high rises is remarkably

Table 8

COMPOSITION OF LABOR FORCE HIGH-RISE DWELLERS:

OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, BACK BAY-BEACON HILL, AND CITY OF BOSTON

Occupation	High-Rise (N=145)	Back Bay-Beacon Hill *	Boston*
Professional	42.1%	46.3%	22.5%
Manager	33.8		
Clerical	13.1	27.5	26.9
Sales	6.2	7.4	5.7
Foreman, skilled worker	3.4	2.4	10.2
Service	1.4	11.0	16.0
Operatives	--	3.1	13.8
Laborers	--	1.2	4.1
Private household, misc.	--	1.1	.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Summary Tape; Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins, Boston Redevelopment Authority Research Department.

Table 9

HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS: TYPE OF BUSINESS ASSOCIATED WITH FAMILY HEADS JOB

Type of Business	Percent Distribution (N=149)
Federal, state, local government	13.4%
Manufacturing	4.7
Utilities	2.0
Wholesale trade	6.0
Retail sales	10.7
Services to business	12.1
Finance, insurance, real estate	13.4
Personal services	2.0
Recreational services	1.3
Professional services to public	21.5
College or university employee	2.0
Miscellaneous other categories	9.4
No answer	1.3
Total	100.0%

Table 10

NEW CORE ARE RENTERS, AND CITY RESIDENTS, BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Age	Core Area Renters (N=162)	City of Boston*
19-24	10.0%	11.5%
25-34	23.4	18.0
35-44	14.7	14.7
45-64	31.3	33.3
65-85	20.7	22.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%
Median	46.0	45.8

* 1970 U.S. Census Report PC (1) - B-23 Mass., Table 25.

similar to that of the city as a whole. The minor exception to this general observation is the relatively greater proportion (23.4 percent as opposed to 18.0 percent) in the 25-to-34-year age bracket.(4)

In addition, the doubling up of young, unrelated individuals to share living expenses is not particularly prevalent in these apartments. The tendency of unrelated individuals to "double up" and live together in these high-rise apartments (7.2 percent of all households) is about the same as that in the city as a whole (6.4 percent) and in core areas such as Back Bay-Beacon Hill (8.7 percent).

Summary

The composition of the residents of new downtown apartments is on the whole quite different from the city in general. The major differences are summarized as follows:

- A very high proportion of the residences are composed of one- and two-person households, resulting in an average household size of 1.6 persons relative to the city average of 2.8.

- A factor related to small households is the virtually complete absence of children less than 18 years old. Only 3 percent of these households have children relative to 42 percent for the city.

- This is an extremely affluent group of households, with a median income of $18,368, over twice that of the city. This taken together with the much smaller households means extraordinary per capita incomes for personal consumption.

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(4) This result is consistent with new information on population changes in the city since 1970, showing a concentration of growth in the 25-to-34-year age group, occurring principally in the city core area. "Boston's Population; Reversal of Two Decades of Population Decline; Rebirth of the City as a Place to Live; Emergence of New Age Structure and Neighborhood Patterns," Mary Tompkins, Barbara Dumke, Margaret O'Brien, and Alexander Ganz, Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department., July 1973.

- As a direct result of the preceding factors, this group can pay very high rents for their dwelling units, which as will be noted later, emphasize location and amenities over number of rooms and open space.
- This population group possesses an extraordinary level of education, with 85 percent having some college experience relative to the 30 percent of adults in the city.
- Finally, the occupational composition of this group is distinctly in the manager or professional category (76 percent relative to the citywide figure of 23 percent).

However, when compared to the residents of surrounding downtown communities, particularly Beacon Hill and the Back Bay, there is a great deal of similarity and compatability. Downtown residents represent an extreme which is much better off than most of the city's population in terms of education and income. If the city's function is viewed as a place for diverse groups of people to live and work, then those who live in a core area high-rise represent an important addition to the city - increasing and complementing a diverse and interesting population. The following sections will explore other attributes of these people, where they came from and why, and their attitudes toward their present living arrangements.

WHERE DO THESE RESIDENTS COME FROM AND WHY?

Perhaps a more provocative question than who the people are who live in the new downtown apartments is the question as to where they come from and why? Much of the new development which has occurred in the city continuing on into the seventies has been and will be in the core area. Does the residential portion of this development serve to attract people back into the city? The out-migration in the fifties was widely publicized, and it was hoped that urban renewal and downtown development in Boston would help reverse this trend. The questions now are: has the outflow shifted and are people returning to live in the city from other areas in the SMSA?

Prior Residence

High-rise residents come from a wide range of different areas, but for the sake of analysis and convenience, it is useful to distinguish three groups of people:

1. those who already lived in Boston and who moved into the high-rise towers from elsewhere in the city;
2. those who moved in from out of town, or in other words those who lived outside of the Boston metropolitan area prior to their move to the downtown; and
3. those who moved into the city from some other part of the Boston metropolitan area.

For the purpose of this study, it is particularly interesting to note the magnitude of the residents who fit into the second and third groups. About half (48.9 percent) were in these two categories moving in from outside the city with the other half (51.1 percent) moving from some area within Boston. Approximately 20 percent represent direct in-migration to the Boston core from outside the SMSA, and more important, a surprisingly high 30 percent of the households are people who are moving into the city from other parts of the metropolitan area (which is defined as the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, SMSA, used in the 1970 U.S. Census). (See Table 11.)

The 1970 census data on the prior residence of Boston's population at large in 1965 shows much smaller in-migration from outside the SMSA (10.4 percent) and from elsewhere in the SMSA (9.4 percent). These figures, when compared with 48.9 percent inmigrants for luxury housing, strongly indicate that the new high-rise luxury apartments do represent an important component in attracting households to Boston from outside the city.

In addition, as many as 46 percent of those moving into the high rise from the SMSA are also changing from an ownership to a rental tenure (see Table 12). This tends to refute the commonly held notion that single-family homeownership represents an invincible citadel. This is in comparison to moves from within the city which are predominately (90 percent) from rental tenure, consistent with the fact that 73 percent of the occupied units in the city are rental units.[5]

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(5) U.S. Census, 1970, Publication HC (2)-30, Table B-4 page 30-39.

Table 11

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS BY LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Location of Previous Residence	Renters (N=163)
Back Bay	21.5%
Beacon Hill	8.6
Brighton	6.1
Charlestown	0.6
North End	0.6
West End	3.1
South End	0.6
Boston, other	11.0
Total, Boston	52.1
Cambridge	4.3
Brookline	5.5
Newton	4.3
SMSA, other	15.4
Total, SMSA, Outside of Boston	29.5
Massachusetts, Outside of SMSA	2.5
Outside of Massachusetts	15.9
Totals	100.0%

Table 12

PREVIOUS TENURE OF NEW CORE AREA RENTERS, BY LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Tenure	Location of Previous Residence*					
		Boston		Outside of Boston		
	Core (N=56)	Remainder (N=24)	Total (N=85)	Remaining SMSA (N=46)	Outside SMSA (N=29)	Total All Locations (N=159)
Owner	5.3%	20.8%	9.4%	45.7%	27.6%	23.3%
Rented	92.9	79.2	89.4	52.2	65.5	74.8
Other	1.8	0.0	1.2	2.1	6.9	1.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* The number of respondents (N) does not add up to indicated totals due to differences in number of non-responses to the two questions being compared in this table.

Locational Preferences

The reasons why people chose to live in downtown apartments is of particular interest for this study. This information is vital in answering questions pertaining to the strength of the movement of people to the downtown area, the potential for the future, and the implications for the city. With this in mind, three dimensions were explored concerning locational preferences: first, their reasons for moving from their previous location; second, their reasons for selecting their present apartment; and third, their reasons for chosing a particular dwelling unit. Each will be discussed below.

Reasons for moving from previous residence. As might be expected, respondents gave a wide range of reasons as to why they decided to move from their previous residence. However, there does seem to be an interesting pattern which emerges, with this pattern depending primarily on the location of the previous residence.

For the in-migrants moving to Boston from outside of the SMSA the reasons seem most clear. The primary determinant was a change in employment or school, and this was cited by almost 60 percent of the households in this group (Table 13). The second most important reason was change in family status, cited by 16 percent of the households. For those moving to Boston from outside the SMSA, the city can do little to influence their decision to come to the metropolitan area; this has already been decided by a job transfer or a choice of schools. However, the availability of suitable residences, for example those in the downtown area, will certainly be a factor once they arrive as to whether they decide to live in Boston proper or elsewhere, particularly for those who have the basic characteristics of downtown dwellers as described previously.

Table 13

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS, BY MOST SIGNIFICANT REASON FOR MOVING FROM PAST RESIDENCE AND BY LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Most Significant Reason	Previous Residential Location			
	Boston (N=81)	Remaining SMSA (N=41)	Outside SMSA (N=31)	Total, All Locations (N=153)
Change in family status	6.2%	31.7%	16.1%	15.0%
Change in school or job	3.7	2.4	58.1	14.4
Problems with dwelling unit	22.2	7.3	0.0	13.7
Inconvenient to work	8.6	17.1	3.2	9.8
Size of dwelling unit	11.1	12.2	0.0	9.1
High rents	8.6	0.0	0.0	4.6
Evicted	6.2	4.9	0.0	4.6
Crime, lack of safety	8.6	0.0	0.0	4.6
Community composition	4.9	0.0	0.0	2.6
Inconvenient to public transportation	0.0	2.4	3.2	1.3
Others	19.9	22.0	19.4	20.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

For those households which were living in other parts of the SMSA before moving into Boston, a more diverse set of reasons were given for leaving their previous residence. The most important reason cited was a change in family status i.e., change in the number of children in the home, divorce, etc. For example, it has often been postulated that one of the primary groups of people moving to the downtown area is couples whose children are no longer living at home. Such people would be accounted for in this group, and it seems reasonable that change in family status would be an important reason for people to move downtown from other parts of metropolitan Boston. However, change in family status was the most significant reason for only a third of the people moving from within the SMSA. Other factors for moving which received mention most often were inconvenience to work and size and problems with the dwelling unit. It is possible that size of a dwelling unit might be related to change of family status, in that if children have left home a formerly adequate home may now be too large, thus stimulating a decision to move to a smaller apartment.

For those households moving from within Boston, there is a more even distribution of reasons for moving, with the dominant reason being some deficiency in the dwelling unit. Size and problems with the dwelling unit together made up the most significant reason for moving for one third of the people. It is also worth noting that those moving from within Boston were the only group to mention presence of crime, or lack of neighborhood safety, and community composition (class or race dissimilarity and/or desire to be with similar people).

The fact that many of those moving from within Boston to the high-rise were moving in order to obtain a higher quality dwelling unit or environment is significant from several standpoints. First it suggests that the availability of new, high quality housing in the city may be important in allowing Boston residents who experience both a growth in real income and a desire to improve their living situation the choice of finding their next dwelling unit within the City of Boston, rather than a suburban alternative or not moving at all. A related benefit is the "filtering process," whereby the units of somewhat lower quality are made available to others who desire to improve their housing situation. Such filtering provides a mechanism by which a range of households, with different incomes, benefit from the construction of new luxury units.

Reasons for selecting current apartments. In contrast to the diversity of answers to questions as to why people left their former location, when factors associated with residential preference were examined, the striking feature was the similarity rather than differences expressed by those from different previous residence areas. In general, all the high-rise residents were seeking a more or less common goal: convenience to place of employment. Approximately 70 percent of the respondents cited this as being "very important" in their choice of their place of residence (Table 14). Furthermore, this received the lowest (11 percent) response as being "not important" (Table 15). The overwhelming importance of place of employment as a determinant in the residential location decision process makes it a key factor in estimating potential demand for the high-rise housing market.(6)

(6) Toward A Housing Policy For The City of Boston, Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research and Planning Departments, Kent Colton and Rolf Goetze, July 1973, Chapter IV "Middle and Upper Income Housing Potential and Policy," page IV-31.

Table 14

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS INDICATING "VERY IMPORTANT" TO VARIOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND BY LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Factors Influencing Residential Location	Boston (N=85)	Remaining SMSA (N=46)	Outside SMSA (N=31)	Total, All Locations (N=162)
Safety of neighborhood	40.0%	36.9%	35.5%	38.8%
Quality of public schools	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.6
Availability of parks	5.9	6.5	3.2	5.7
Proximity to shopping	42.3	26.1	45.2	38.8
Convenience to work	72.9	58.7	80.6	71.5
Proximity to restaurants, cultural activities	34.1	41.3	38.7	37.9
Proximity to friends, relatives	9.4	8.7	6.5	8.7
City life	35.3	36.9	41.9	37.8

Table 15

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS,

BY IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS INFLUENCING RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Factors Influencing Residential Location	Importance (N=162) "Very"	"Somewhat"	"Not"	Total
Safety of neighborhood	38.8%	27.5%	33.7%	100.0%
Quality of public schools	0.6	1.3	98.1	100.0
Availability of parks	5.7	16.3	78.0	100.0
Proximity to shopping	38.8	39.4	21.8	100.0
Convenience to work	71.5	17.4	11.1	100.0
Proximity to restaurants, cultural activities	37.9	41.0	21.1	100.0
Proximity to friends, relatives	8.7	26.1	65.2	100.0
City life	37.8	34.6	27.6	100.0

Other factors commonly associated with urban living also received emphasis - although at a lower individual (approximate 40 percent) rate. These included proximity to shopping, restaurants, cultural activities, and "city life." This latter category was intended to represent a combination of factors which could be interpreted by the individual respondents as representing all the characteristics of the complete urban life style. If these factors are combined, a significant rate of 65 percent of the households indicated that at least one of the preceding factors is very important in their residential choice.

Neighborhood safety was cited by about 40 percent of the households as being very important, although slightly increased emphasis was given by those who had moved from within Boston.

It is also noteworthy that the quality of local public schools figured low in relative salience, with almost a unaminity (over 98 percent) of respondents indicating this as "not important." The almost total lack of children, previously noted, makes school quality a factor low in self interest and undoubtedly explains this lack of salience.

Choice of dwelling unit. In selecting a dwelling unit, the most important single feature cited was building security, which was given by almost 70 percent of the respondents whether they were moving from within or from outside of Boston (Table 16). The importance of building safety complements the relative indifference to neighborhood safety, which does not figure highly in the locational choice. The previously noted pattern of a similarity of responses expressed by those moving from a different location, is also apparent, from an inspection of Table 16.

Table 16

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS INDICATING "VERY IMPORTANT" TO VARIOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING CHOICE OF DWELLING UNIT BY LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Dwelling Unit Factors	Boston (N=85)	Remaining SMSA (N=46)	Outside SMSA (N=31)	Total, All Locations (N=162)
Space, roomsize	45.9%	43.5%	51.6%	46.3%
Room layout	17.6	28.3	22.6	21.6
Appliances	36.5	39.1	22.6	34.6
Recreational services	10.6	19.6	12.9	13.6
Building security	69.4	73.9	61.3	69.1
View	32.9	50.0	25.8	36.4

The next most significant feature was space and room size, cited by almost 50 percent of the respondents. View and appliances were "very important" to 36.4 and 34.6 percent of the apartment respondents respectively.

The presence of in-building recreational facilities were the least significant factor in dwelling unit selection, with almost 70 percent of the respondents indicating that these were "not important."

Summary

The residents of the new high-rise apartments came from three major geographical areas: 52.1 percent from Boston (with 30.1 percent from Back Bay-Beacon Hill), 29.5 percent from the remaining SMSA, and 18.4 percent from outside the SMSA.

Those from Boston are generally moving out of, and thereby freeing for others, lower quality units in the process of their moving into the new high quality residential units. This filtering phenomenon, while small relative to the whole housing stock of the city, is nevertheless one mechanism by which a range of households at different economic levels receive benefits by construction of new luxury units.

Those residents who have moved into the high-rise from the remaining SMSA have a special significance in that they represent part of a reversal of the previous highly publicized exodus from the city. While strictly speaking this is not an exact reversal, in that the exodus of the fifties consisted primarily of middle-class families with children and the new influx are middle- and upper-income households without children. Yet it is significant to note the increasing acceptance of the city as a place to live, probably an indication of changing life styles (i.e. people marrying later in life or not at all, waiting longer before having children, having smaller families, etc.) and of the improving quality of downtown urban life.

The city is also capturing a significant number of in-migrants to this area, successfully competing with the proliferating suburban apartment developments.

Because of the diversity in prior residential locations, the reasons given for moving from their prior residences are also different. A majority of those moving from out of state or outside of the Boston SMSA moved because of a change in job (or school). Those moving from within the SMSA, excluding Boston, moved principally because of a change in family circumstances such as children, marriage, divorce, etc. - although other reasons were also cited. Those moving from within Boston cited a greater variety of reasons, the predominant ones being a desire to move away from some dwelling unit deficiency, undesirable changes in community composition, and real or perceived risks to personal safety. This pattern of responses is reasonable in that the former Boston residents are really not significantly changing proximity to employment relative to those from other areas. Those from outside the SMSA and the state are obviously making a change in location.

On the other hand, the reasons for moving into the core area high-rise apartments, were shared in almost equal proportions by those moving from various previous residential locations. An overwhelming majority cited the common objective of being convenient to place of employment. There was also general agreement on other urban related features, such as proximity to shopping and cultural activities. A safe neighborhood was cited with the same somewhat lower level of emphasis, as these urban advantages. Quality of public schools was definitely not of interest to these people, who, as noted, do not have children.

The reasons for selecting a particular apartment were also common to those from different previous places of residence. The most important objective cited was building security, followed by space and room size. Presence of in-building recreation facilities was cited by a majority as definitely not important in their selection of an apartment.

HOW SATISFIED ARE THESE PEOPLE?

After discussing who the people are who live in downtown apartments and where they come from and why, the next logical question is are they satisfied with the housing they have selected? Did these households, who basically have a much better than average freedom of choice, obtain what they were looking for?

In general, the answer to this question is that they are satisfied with their living arrangements. In fact, responses are generally very positive of their rating of their neighborhood and dwelling unit, their length of tenure or stability, and their expressions of future living plans.

Satisfaction with Daily Work Trip

The primary reason that residents chose to live in their downtown apartment was their desire to be close to work, and it appears from reviewing survey response that their objectives have clearly been met.

Forty percent of the dwellers walk to work, which is similar to the 43 percent of the Back Bay-Beacon Hill workers who walk to work. This is considerably higher than the city average of 15 percent (Table 17).

Table 17

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS:

PRINCIPAL MODE OF TRANSPORTATION EMPLOYED IN DAILY WORK TRIP

Transportation Mode	High-Rise (N=156)	Back Bay-Beacon Hill*	City of Boston*
Walk	41.7%	43.1%	14.6
Transit (MBTA) or Train	14.1	26.9	38.3
Private automobile	37.8	23.4	43.6
Taxi	1.3	--	--
Walk & MBTA	1.3	--	--
Other	3.8	6.6	3.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Source: 1970 U.S. Census, PHC (1)-29 Census Tracts, Boston Table P-2, pg. P-43.

Furthermore, 65 percent of the high-rise dwellers get to work in less than 15 minutes (Table 18), and over 90 percent have a half hour or less to commute.

Associated with this pattern of living close to work is a high degree of satisfaction with the trip to work. Ninety percent are either very or fairly satisfied, with better than two thirds of that 90 percent being very satisfied (Table 19). What is especially interesting is the extraordinary degree of satisfaction expressed by those who walk to work. For those who walk, 95 percent are very satisfied; compared with 23 percent for those using public transit and 53 percent using private automobile, being very satisfied.

It is also interesting to examine the extent of car ownership by these people. Table 20 shows that a slightly higher proportion of high-rise residents own cars relative to the City of Boston residents as a whole (60 percent versus 53 percent). This extent of car ownership is also similar to that of surveyed office workers who live in Boston (65 percent). However, when compared to city office workers who live in the suburbs and are car owners (93 percent), the 33 percent of high-rise city dwellers that do not own cars is significant. This lower degree of car ownership and the high proportion of high-rise residents who walk to work is also reflected in data showing that the expressed need for owning an automobile is not high among this group. Table 21 shows that, for those who own cars, only 55 percent consider car ownership essential.

Table 18

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS: ONE-WAY TRAVEL TIME FOR DAILY WORK TRIP

Travel Time (minutes)	Percent (N=150)
0-5	18.0%
6-10	26.0
11-15	22.7
16-30	28.7
31-60	4.0
61-90	.7
Total	100.0%
Median	11.3 minutes

Table 19

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS: RESPONDENTS RATING

OF SATISFACTION WITH DAILY WORK TRIP BY TRIP MODE

	Walk (N=41)	MBTA (N=13)	Car (N=38)	Other (N=7)	Total (N=99)
Very satisfied	95.1%	23.1%	52.6%	42.9%	65.5%
Fairly satisfied	4.9	53.9	39.5	28.6	25.5
Not satisfied	0.0	23.0	7.9	28.5	9.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 20

HIGH-RISE HOUSEHOLDS, HIGH-RISE OFFICE WORKERS, AND

CITY OF BOSTON HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF CARS OWNED PER HOUSEHOLD

Number of Cars	High-Rise (N=163)	City of Boston**	High-Rise Office Workers* Boston (N=90)	High-Rise Office Workers* Outside Boston (N=198)
0	33%	47%	34%	7%
1	61	44	43	50
2+	6	9	22	43
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Survey of High-Rise Office Workers

** U.S. Census, 1970, Census Tracts, Structural, Equipment, and Financial Characteristics of Housing Units, Table H-2, Page H-43.

Table 21

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS: RATING OF THE NEED FOR AUTOMOBILE

Need	Households with at least one car (N=108)	All Households (N=163)
Essential	55.5%	36.8%
Useful	24.1	16.0
Could get along without car	18.5	12.3
No answer	1.9	1.2
Have no car	--	33.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Urban Living

A second important factor in deciding to live downtown was the general set of amenities related to urban living (i.e., shopping, leisure time activities, etc.). And once again, it appears that the level of satisfaction is high, with a frequent use of such amenities.

Respondents were asked the question: "If you go out for entertainment, what kinds of things do you do most often -- go to the movies, opera, a concert, a play, museum, to eat out in restaurants, or what? Table 22 shows that the activity scoring the highest with apartment dwellers was eating out (78.7 percent), followed by going to plays (50.3 percent) and movies (48.4 percent). Over 60 percent indicated that they go to downtown Boston for such activity once a week or more (Table 23).

Furthermore, the respondents indicated a high degree of satisfaction with the available leisure activities in Boston, with 90 percent saying "yes" to the question: "Do you think there is enough opportunity in downtown Boston to do those things you like" (Table 24)? Of those saying "no," half cited improvement in theatre and plays as desirable.

From the preceding discussion, it seems clear that the dwellers use downtown services quite frequently. In doing so they contribute to the vitality of the downtown and help to support and build the demand for additional leisure time activities in the city center.

In addition, though, these people are highly mobile and as such also take advantage of the general recreational amenities throughout New England.

Table 22

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS:

DOWNTOWN BOSTON LEISURE ACTIVITIES MOST FREQUENTLY USED*

Activity	Percent Who Use Activity (N=163)
Movie	47.9%
Opera	12.3
Concert	38.0
Play	51.5
Museum	23.9
Eat Out	79.1
Visit Friends, Relatives	18.0
Participatory Sports	21.3
Spectator Sport	19.7
Cocktail lounges, singles bars	11.5
Going out of town, trips	8.2

* Percent of all respondents indicating that a particular activity was used frequently.

Table 23

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS:

FREQUENCY OF USE OF DOWNTOWN BOSTON LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Frequency	Percent Distribution (N=160)
Once a week or more	63.7%
Few times a month	18.7
Once a month	6.3
Less than once a month	11.3
Total	100.0%

Table 24

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS:

RATING OF ADEQUACY OF DOWNTOWN BOSTON LEISURE FACILITIES

Rating	Percent (N=161)
Adequate	90.7%
Not adequate	9.3
Total	100.0

Sixteen percent leave the city overnight or longer for recreation or pleasure several times a month, and another 25 percent leave the city for such activity once a month (see Table 25).

Rating of Neighborhood and Apartment Services

When queried in the area of neighborhood safety, over half the respondents expressed feelings of not being safe, approximately the same rate of perceived insecurity as all other residents of Boston (Table 26). However, this is compensated for by the fact that the residential complexes themselves represent secure enclaves which meet the security objectives of this population. In Table 27, over half of the respondents rated their building as "very safe" and almost 40 percent at "fairly safe."

The respondents were generally satisfied with the delivery of other local municipal services such as quality of street cleaning and quality of parks and playgrounds (Table 28).

Convenience to shopping was cited as being important to the respondents, and almost 80 percent expressed satisfaction with neighborhood shopping - groceries, drug stores, cleaners, etc. (Table 29).

The respondents were also asked to evaluate their overall satisfaction with their housing. When compared to the city as a whole, the high-rise residents are a satisfied group.

Seventy-one percent of the downtown dwellers were very satisfied. Only 48 percent of the renters citywide expressed this same level of satisfaction (Table 30). However, this difference should be qualified

Table 25

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS: FREQUENCY OF LEAVING THE CITY FOR OVERNIGHT OR LONGER RECREATIONAL OR PLEASURE TRIPS

Frequency	Percent (N=163)
Several Times a Month	16.%
Once a Month	25.
Several Times a Year	36.
Less Than Several Times a Year	23.
Total	100.%

Table 26

RATING OF NEIGHBORHOOD SAFETY BY HIGH-RISE AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS*

Rating**	High-Rise (N=163)	Boston
Very Safe		10%
Pretty Safe	41%	30
Pretty Unsafe	25	18
Very Unsafe	32	39
No Answer	2	2
Total	100%	100%

* Responses were to the question "How safe do you feel walking around your neighborhood alone at night?" City of Boston data source: "How The People See Their City: Boston 1969," Survey Research Program, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, page 38.

** A degree of bias may exist in the comparison of ratings due to the different number of rating categories employed in the two surveys; those in the high-rise were not presented with the "very safe" possibility.

Table 27

RATING OF APARTMENT BUILDING SECURITY BY HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS

Rating	High-Rise (N=160)
Very safe	50.6%
Fairly safe	37.5
Not very safe	11.9
Total	100.0%

Table 28

RATING OF LOCAL STREET CLEANING AND
NEIGHBORHOOD PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS: HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS

Rating	Street Cleaning (N=163)	Parks and Playgrounds (N=163)
Very satisfied	27%	25%
Fairly satisfied	36	29
Not very satisfied	33	17
No answer	4	29
Total	100%	100%

Table 29

RATING OF NEIGHBORHOOD SHOPPING
(GROCERIES, DRUG STORES, CLEANERS, ETC.): HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS

Rating	(N=158)
Very satisfied	45%
Fairly satisfied	34
Not very satisfied	21
Total	100%

Table 30

OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH HOUSING: HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS AND CITY AS A WHOLE RESIDENTS

Satisfaction	High-Rise	City of Boston*	
	Rents (N=161)	Rents (N=152)	Owns (N=386)
Very satisfied	71%	48%	71%
Fairly satisfied	24	39	25
Not very satisfied	5	13	4
Total	100%	100%	100%

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* "How the People See Their City: Boston 1969," Survey Research Program, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, page 67.

somewhat by the fact that citywide those residents with higher incomes are more satisfied (e.g., 67 percent of the city's residents with incomes above $15,000 were very satisfied with their housing services), and we have demonstrated earlier that downtown residents definitely fit into a higher income category.

Residential Stability

The generally favorable expressions of satisfaction with neighborhood and dwelling units are supported by additional data showing that even given the relative mobility of the high-rise dwellers (e.g., they have the money to move if they desire), they are a very stable group and move no more frequently than the residents of the city as a whole. The percent of high-rise dwellers who have lived a year or less in their present dwelling unit is 23 percent compared to 25 percent for the city as a whole. It is especially significant that a high 49 percent of high-rise residents have lived 3 or more years in their present dwelling unit (56 percent for the city as a whole) even considering the fact that the high-rise units which were surveyed were all constructed since 1960 with some coming on the market as late as 1971, and with an overall average market availability period of 5.9 years per unit (Table 31).

Future Living Arrangements

To complement the data on past and present housing patterns and to further explore the area of housing satisfaction, several questions probed what the respondents thought their future living arrangements

Table 31

NUMBER OF YEARS IN PRESENT DWELLING UNIT:

NEW HIGH-RISE RENTERS AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS

Years in Present Dwelling Unit	High-Rise Renters (N=163)	Boston Residents*
0-1	22.7%	24.8%
1-2	17.9	11.4
2-3	10.4	7.9
3+	49.0	55.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

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* U.S., 1970 Census

would be. When asked the question: "How likely is it that you will move from this apartment/condominium in the next year or two -- is it very likely, fairly likely, or not very likely?," roughly one third of the apartment dwellers indicated "very likely," a response not surprising in light of the previously noted length of tenure data (Table 32).

Respondents who indicated the possibility of a move within a year or so were asked why and where they would move. High rent and changes in school or job situation were the prime reasons anticipated for moving, each accounting for roughly 20 percent of the distribution. The distribution of other reasons for moving was relatively uniform (Table 33). It is also important to note that the reasons cited for leaving are virtually all factors where the city could have very little influence in reversing the decision to leave.

For example, crime and lack of safety was not cited by anyone as a reason for their likelihood of leaving.

For those apartment dwellers contemplating a move, anticipated new residence is divided approximately equally into thirds among the central part of Boston (Back Bay, Beacon Hill, etc.), the rest of the SMSA, and outside the SMSA (Table 34).

Summary

The high-rise residents are very satisfied with their current living arrangements. In terms of rating specific neighborhood and dwelling unit qualities and in terms of an overall rating of their

Table 32

HIGH-RISE DWELLERS: LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING WITHIN A YEAR OR TWO

	Location of Previous Residence				
	Boston		Suburbs		Outside
	Core (N=56)	Remainder (N=24)	Inner (N=23)	Outer (N=22)	SMSA (N=31)
Very	32%	37%	35%	23%	19%
Fairly	13	17	13	18	26
Not	55	42	48	59	55
N.A.					
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 33

NEW CORE AREA RENTERS WHO EXPRESSED A LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING IN NEXT YEAR OR TWO, BY REASONS CITED FOR SUCH A POSSIBLE MOVE

Most Significant Reason	Percent (N=74)
Change in Family Status	4.1%
Change in School or Job	24.3
Problems with Dwelling Unit	6.7
Inconvenient to Work	2.7
Size of Dwelling Unit	6.7
High Rents	18.9
Evicted	0.0
Crime, Lack of Safety	0.0
Community Composition	0.0
Inconvenient to Public Transportation	0.0
Desire Change of Tenure Rent to Own	10.8
Desire Change to Less Urban Setting (want more "quiet," "rural," "suburbs", etc.)	9.5
Economic Reasons (<u>excluding</u> high rent)	9.5
Other	6.7
Total	100.0%

Table 34

HIGH-RISE RESIDENTS EXPRESSING A LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE AND BY LIKELY LOCATION OF MOVE

Likely Future Residence	Previous Residence			
	Boston (N=31)	SMSA Not Boston (N=17)	Outside SMSA (N=10)	All Locations Total (N=58)
Boston	22.4%	5.2%	3.4%	31.0%
SMSA, Not Boston	13.8	13.8	5.2	32.7
Outside SMSA	17.2	10.3	8.6	36.2
All Locations Total	53.4	29.3	17.2	100.0

housing, these residents indicate that their residential objectives have been met. The evidence of this level of satisfaction is given considerable weight by the combined fact of their length of tenure and their greater mobility and range of choice -- a degree of stability comparable to residents of the city as a whole. Among those contemplating future changes in living arrangement a variety of reasons were given, with potential change in job or school and high rents representing the primary motivating factors. The likely location of a future move was about evenly divided into thirds among Boston, the rest of SMSA, and outside of Boston.

The high-rise residents, in spite of generally meeting their major objective of being convenient to employment, own somewhat more cars than the average Boston resident. However, a much greater proportion of the high-rise residents walk to work. Furthermore, they are almost unanimous in rating their work trip arrangements as satisfactory.

Another area of satisfaction is with the leisure time facilities in Boston. The use of such facilities is high with a majority reporting eating out or going to plays or movies at least once a week. As such they contribute to the general vitality of general downtown amenities and urban life. Further, they were nearly unanimous in saying that there is enough opportunity in downtown Boston to pursue the type of leisure activities desired.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The relatively new phenomenon of high-rise housing in downtown Boston raises a number of important questions and issues. Many of these were mentioned in the introduction:

- Who are the people who live in these buildings?
- Where do they come from and why?
- What is the impact of these people on the downtown?
- Do they use the opportunities and services of the city and are they satisfied?
- What is the potential for the future?
- And what are the ramifications for the city in terms of additional costs and benefits?

All of these questions have not been addressed by this survey, and further study is required to obtain a full range of the implications of high-rise development. However, this report was not intended as a complete analysis of the benefits and costs of development in the city core, and in fact, in the final analysis such "answers" may rest only on value-based judgements. Information such as that contained in this volume is only one part of such a judgment. Still, the results of the survey are revealing and they provide a base from which to proceed.

To begin, the residents of the newly constructed apartment houses are a unique group of people. In general, there are wide variations between high-rise dwellers and the other residents of the city. However, in many

ways they do look much like the residents of the Back Bay and Beacon Hill area as a whole; they are well educated, generally without children living in the home, and as a result have relatively small households. They do differ from the Back Bay population in one key respect: there are only a modest number of single persons under forty in the luxury apartment units. The student population is almost totally absent. With average rentals at the $300 level, only the most successful and affluent of the singles population can afford this housing. The most affluent and best-educated people of all ages are being attracted into this downtown setting. The residents of the 5,000 units of new housing in the urban core constructed since 1960 are unsurpassed in the metropolitan area with respect to educational and financial achievements.

In addition, it is clear that there is a definite trend for people to move to downtown Boston. Half of the residents come from outside the city, with 30 percent coming from other parts of the metropolitan area. The attraction of the city center is further demonstrated by the fact that one quarter of these residents live in downtown Boston but work outside of the city (although part of this is accounted for by the close proximity of Cambridge and other "urban" cities). The tendency for suburban people to move into this housing in the city does not constitute an exact reversal of the trend apparent in the 1950's of families leaving Boston for the suburbs. It was families with children that left; it is particularly families who have not yet had children or whose children are grown that are returning. Still, it does constitute the strengthening and continuing emergence of a downtown life style which is attractive to

many and is complemented by other current trends in our society, such as the tendency for couples to marry at a later age, to wait sometime before having children, and to limit the size of their families. It further suggests a new and broadening role and function for the center portion of the city: downtown Boston is not only a place to work but a place to live, at least for certain people with a selected style of living.

A key question is the extent to which the City of Boston should encourage the further development of such housing. One issue in answering this is whether there is a market for such housing. The survey shows that one of the clear dependencies in projecting this market is the number of people, professional people in particular, who are employed in downtown Boston. Proximity to work is of great importance to most of these people; and a continued growth of demand for expensive downtown housing is tied to the continued supply of professionals who are employed in the downtown area.

Demand analyses(7) performed by the BRA based on a number of information sources including this survey have found that the potential market for new housing is excellent. However, the realization of demand depends on the ability of the private sector to build more of this type of housing. This supply response is, in turn, a function of both the private and public sectors, operating jointly to successfully develop proposals which meet the increasingly difficult environmental, social, and other standards.

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(7) See "Towards a Housing Policy for the City of Boston," Chapter IV, Middle and Upper Income Housing for the Downtown Potential and Policy. Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research and Planning Departments, 701 Program, January, 1974.

A related issue is the competition for housing units in the downtown between the new affluent professionals and the existing resident population. It is clear that many of the residents of these buildings would, in the absence of the new high-rise housing options, reside in other available units in the downtown area. The production of the new high-rise apartments can be viewed as a means for relieving the pressure on existing residential units and as a complement and necessary component to the continued economic and employment expansion now underway in the downtown.

As the residential population of the downtown grows, the ability of those who live downtown to demand better retail, recreational, and city services grows. This results in an improvement of services for old residents as well as new.

Still, it is also clear that a certain number of people have chosen the downtown setting over a suburban alternative who probably would not have done so had this housing not been built. Increased production and development do put pressure on existing neighborhoods; and in particular as the demand grows the action in the marketplace tends to force up rents, imposing hardships on low- and moderate-income residents of the city core neighborhoods such as in the North End or Chinatown. Such issues must be realized and dealt with as much as possible.

On the whole, there clearly are advantages to the city to having this kind of development in or near the downtown area. From a fiscal point of view, the advantage of this kind of housing is that it is self supporting and that it provides a source of return in tax revenues. One

major factor contributing to a fiscal cost-benefit situation is that these residents of the downtown area do not have children and thus do not require schools. (On the other hand, some observers feel that high income people somehow or other manage to get more than the average share of city services. It would take a more careful assessment than can be attempted here on this issue, but undoubtedly the hypothesis should be explored that the savings on schools may be offset by increases in other kinds of services.)

There are other important reasons to encourage residential growth in the downtown area. The crime problem, which everyone feels is one of the central issues affecting the quality of life in the cities, is generally thought to be improved by increased numbers of people on the streets. Augmenting the number of people who live near and use the downtown area undoubtedly significantly increases the number of people on the downtown streets at times other than the normal 9-to-5 workday. On the other hand, it should be noted that this particular type of housing does not maximize this advantage. The luxury apartments tend to appear as fortresses, with excellent security, but also constructed in such a way as to shelter the people in the housing from involvement with the neighborhood outside. As a matter of fact, such an arrangement seems to be an important part of the appeal of luxury housing to the residents.

It is particularly useful to the downtown area to attract a group such as these dwellers, for they are heavy consumers of restaurant, cultural, and shopping facilities. Having a residential base to support

such services obviously enhances the number and variety of such facilities for all those in the metropolitan area who would use the city.

One of the most intriguing issues to ponder is what the political significance of a group of residents such as these may turn out to be. As was noted, this group differs markedly from the rest of the city in education and income. Such a group might be expected to be a powerful constituency lobbying for maintenance and improvement in the quality of life in the downtown area in a way that businesses or other nonresidential users perhaps would not be. On the other hand, the question of the extent to which in fact these people would become involved at all in the political issues of their environment outside their own housing units is open. This group also has the potential for providing a lot of talent and even leadership for the city as a whole. For example, most observers would think it a positive factor for the average level of education among adults in the City of Boston to grow as rapidly or faster than the metropolitan area as a whole. There is again the question, though, of whether these particular residents would be interested in assuming the leadership role, and also whether they can be sufficiently in touch with the rest of the city to work in concert with, rather than in opposition to, the balance of Boston residents.

In conclusion, the development of luxury apartments in downtown Boston has a number of potential advantages combined with some potential costs. Probably overall the most important issue is the development of

increased residential areas proximate to the downtown shopping and business areas. Such development is a reflection of changing life-styles and roles for the city and could be a decided asset to the health of a central city downtown. Yet another consideration of this advantage is whether the residential housing in the downtown area should be developed in such an exclusive way, or whether some effort should be made to provide housing for people of different economic capabilities. A second consideration is whether the self-contained high-rise tower is the construction style of choice, or whether some attempt should be made to encourage another sort of housing as well, perhaps a sort that fosters more of a sense of community and more interaction outside on the street.

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED: SURVEYS OF APARTMENT AND CONDOMINIUM DWELLERS

Introduction

This appendix presents the details of the methodology employed in conducting surveys of apartment dwellers in Boston and condominium dwellers in Boston, Brookline, and Cambridge during December 1972.

The development of the survey questionnaire and research objectives was a joint effort of both representatives of the B.R.A. research staff and the Survey Research Program. The Survey Research Program was responsible for the data collection procedures and data processing.

The basic approach of telephone interviews was decided upon for several reasons. The method of telephone interviewing is less expensive and less time consuming than personal interviewing. It also was seen as potentially more successful than personal interviewing in buildings with elaborate security systems, where it is difficult for interviewers to talk face to face with potential respondents. In case telephone interviews were impossible, because of inability to obtain a working telephone number for a selected unit, personal interviews were attempted to ensure that the sample would be representative of the entire study population.

Sampling

For the selection of a representative sample of apartment dwellers, the Boston Redevelopment Authority proposed a list of thirteen Boston apartment buildings constructed since 1960.

A total of 4,674 apartment units provided the basis for the sample (see List No.1). Taking into account an average occupancy rate of 92 percent (B.R.A. estimate) and an expected response rate of 75 percent, an overall sampling fraction of every 18th housing unit (or apartment) was arrived at to yield a sample of adequate size.*

A sample of condominium dwellers was taken from lists in Boston, Brookline, and Cambridge.** The estimated number of condominium units to be found was 452 (see List No.2). The Boston Redevelopment Authority estimated an occupancy rate of 85 percent; the remaining 15 percent were thought to be either vacated or occupied by tenants. These figures were the basis for an overall sampling fraction of every third condominium unit.

Field workers were sent out to all thirteen apartment buildings and to twenty-two condominiums to list dwelling units. The number of housing units found in the buildings were checked against the given figures (for comparison of the outcomes see Lists No.1 and No.2). Excluded were all units used for commercial purposes.

Instead of listing all units (or apartment numbers) and names of everyone living in the apartment buildings, the lister selected names and apartment numbers at the given sampling rate. They started with an at random selected apartment number and listed every eighteenth apartment. In the condominium buildings all names and unit numbers were listed.

---

* We expected the resulting sample of apartment dwellers to be between 150 and 175.

** Brookline and Cambridge units were included because of the small number of condominium units in the City of Boston. Even so, the fraction of 1 in 3 units required to yield an expected 75 interviews was very high.

These complete lists were returned to the office where a selection was made of one out of every three listed units.

The next step was to find telephone numbers for the selected addresses. For approximately 75 percent of all addresses telephone numbers were found.

Interviewing

Before any telephone contact was made, the household was notified in advance by letter which included information about the survey. During the first call, the interviewer would check if the address and apartment number as given on the cover sheet was correct. In case the telephone number was not for the selected unit, further efforts were made either to obtain the correct number or to interview the selected household in person.

Interviewers were required to make at least six attempts to contact the respondent (including some at night or on the weekend) before a household could be considered unreachable by telephone; and generally more than six calls were made when it was necessary.

Interview Results

Of the 380 selected units approximately 125 did not have telephone numbers or were unreachable by telephone. About 50 of these turned out to be vacant or commercial. To complete the study, interviewers were sent out to conduct personal interviews at the balance of the units that

could not be reached by phone. The data collection started November 27 and was completed in the following four weeks. The results of both telephone interviews and personal interviews are given in the chart on page .

Out of a sample of 208 eligible apartment addresses, 163 interviews were completed -- a response rate of 78 percent. For the condominium, it should be noted that instead of the expected 15 percent, 39 percent of all units selected for the sample that were thought to be condominiums were either vacated or occupied by tenants. This reduced the number of eligible condominium addresses substantially. At the 91 eligible addresses, 75 interviews were completed -- a response rate of 82 percent.

Reliability of the Data

There are at least two concerns one should have about the reliability of survey data. The first is the percentage of the population represented in the sample. The response rate in this case was 80 percent, which means that 20 percent of the population is not included. To the extent that the nonrespondents differ from respondents, the estimates from the sample will differ somewhat from the true population figures.

The other concern is the random variability associated with taking a sample rather than the total population. Since this was a simple random sample, stratified by apartment complex, the reliability of percentage figures for various sample sizes taken from a standard table of standard errors for simple random samples can be appropriately used.

INTERVIEW RESULTS

	Apartments		Condominiums	
No. of addresses selected:	232		148	
Non-Sample:				
Vacant units	9		26	18%
Non-renter occupied units (commercial, etc.)	12		28	19%
Other reasons	3		3	2%
Total Non-Sample:		10%		39%
No. of occupied eligible housing units:	208		91	
Non-interviews:				
Refusals	30	14%	7	8%
Not home after repeated calls	15	7%	9	10%
Total Non-Interviews:		21%		18%
No. of completed interviews:	163*		75**	
Response rate (percent of eligible households interviewed)	78%		82%	

---

* Of which 12 were personal interviews

** Of which 7 were personal interviews

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE APARTMENT/CONDOMINIUM DWELLERS SURVEY

Survey Research Program

P.32-BRA
11/72

COVER SHEET

APARTMENT/CONDOMINIUM DWELLERS SURVEY

1. Name of Interviewer:______________________

2. Interview Number:__________

3. Length of Interview:__________
(Minutes)

4. ☐ TELEPHONE INTERVIEW
☐ PERSONAL INTERVIEW

---

5. Address: __________(Project name)
__________(Street, Apt. No.)
__________(City or town)
__________(Zip Code)

6. Telephone Number:__________________

7. ☐ RECREATIONAL FACILITIES
☐ NO RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

8. ☐ APARTMENT
☐ CONDOMINIUM-BOSTON
☐ CONDOMINIUM-BROOKLINE
☐ CONDOMINIUM-CAMBRIDGE

9. Is the following address the correct address you are living at now?
(INTERVIEWER: READ ADDRESS AND APARTMENT NUMBER GIVEN IN ITEM 5 ABOVE)

☐ YES

☐ NO: STREET NAME OR NAME OF APARTMENT COMPLEX IS WRONG (TERMINATE INTERVIEW, GIVE CORRECT ADDRESS AND INFORM THE OFFICE)

ADDRESS:______________________________________

☐ NO: APARTMENT NUMBER IS WRONG (GIVE CORRECT APT. NUMBER AND CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW)

APT. NO.:__________

10. (IF CONDOMINIUM RESPONDENT): Are you a condominium owner or do you rent your apartment?

☐ CONDOMINIUM OWNER
☐ RENTER (TERMINATE INTERVIEW. INFORM THE OFFICE)

---

11. Date(s) R Letter Sent: (1)__________ (2)__________ (3)__________

12. CALL RECORD

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a. Time of Day (AM or PM)							
b. Date							
c. Day of Week							
d. Result*							
e. Interviewer							

* USE ABBREVIATIONS SHOWN ON PAGE 4.

COVER INTERVIEW

13. I need to know who lives here with you - without giving names. Let's start with the adults.

    First, who is the head of the household?

14. Is there anyone else who lives here but who is temporarily away - or someone who isn't a member of the family, like a roomer?

    (ENTER IN APPROPRIATE LISTING BOX)

(ADULT LISTING BOX)*

(a) Adults by Relationship to Head	(b) Sex	(c) Age	(d) Marital Status (M.S,D,W, Sep.)	(e) Adult No.	(f) Check Resp.
Head					

(NON-ADULT LISTING BOX)

(g)	(h)	(i)

(Number adults in the following order - oldest male, next oldest male, etc.; followed by oldest female, next oldest female, etc. Then, use selection table, below, to choose R.)

* ADULTS ARE DEFINED AS:
All persons 18 or over
All married persons regardless of age.

USE FOLLOWING ABBREVIATIONS FOR RESULT IN CALL RECORD

NAH	No one at home at time of call
RA	Respondent absent at time of call
Appt.	Appointment made for interview (give details under "comments")
Int.	Interview taken
Ref.	Refusal (give details under "comments")
PNI	Phone number incorrect; respondent doesn't live there
POS	Phone out of service
Oth.	Other (give details under "comments")

USE THIS SPACE FOR COMMENTS
(Show the number of the call to which each comment refers)

1. Interviewer Name: ______________________________

2. Interviewer No.: ______________

Time Began: ______________ a.m. / p.m.

APARTMENT/CONDOMINIUM DWELLERS SURVEY

I would like to ask you some questions about living in the City of Boston and what you think about housing in downtown Boston.

1. How long have you been living in your present (apartment/condominium) building? (INTERVIEWER: MENTION ACTUAL NAME OF DEVELOPMENT)

   ____
   (MONTHS) OR (YEARS)

2. Where did you live just before you moved to this (apartment/condominium)?

   ☐ CITY OF BOSTON (Which part of Boston?)
   (INTERVIEWER: IF AREA IS UNKNOWN ASK STREET NAME; What is it near?)

   ____

   ☐ OTHER THAN CITY OF BOSTON
   (SPECIFY TOWN, CITY, STATE OR COUNTRY, IF NOT U.S.)

   ____

3. The last house you lived in was that a <u>single family home</u>, a <u>2-family home</u>, a <u>3-family house</u>, an <u>apartment house</u> or <u>other</u> type of housing structure?

   ☐ SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE
   ☐ 2-FAMILY HOUSE
   ☐ 3-FAMILY HOUSE
   ☐ APARTMENT HOUSE
   ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY): ______________________________

4. Did you own or rent that (house/apartment)?

   ☐ OWNED
   ☐ RENTED
   ☐ OTHER (EXPLAIN): ______________________________

5. What was the most important reason you decided to move from you last home?

____

____

6. INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE

- ☐ APARTMENT DWELLER (ASK Q.7)
- ☐ CONDOMINIUM DWELLER (SKIP TO Q.11)

7. Many people these days are interested in buying an apartment or condominium.

How likely is it that you in the next few years will decide to buy an apartment or condominium -- is it likely or not very likely?

- ☐ LIKELY (ASK Q.8)
- ☐ NOT VERY LIKELY (ASK Q.9)

8. What is the main reason you would be interested in buying a condominium?

____

____

(SKIP TO Q.10)

9. What is the main reason you would not be interested in a condominium?

____

____

(SKIP TO Q.21)

10. Where would you most likely consider buying a condominium or apartment, in the City of Boston or outside of Boston?

- ☐ IN THE CITY OF BOSTON
- ☐ OUTSIDE THE CITY OF BOSTON (SPECIFY TOWN, CITY): ____________________

____

(SKIP TO Q.21)

(CONDOMINIUM DWELLERS)

11. Were you living in your present apartment as a renter before you purchased it as a condominium?

☐ YES

☐ NO

12. At the time you decided to buy a condominium instead of renting an apartment, were the following things important or not important to you.

	IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
a) Income tax - advantages.	☐	☐
b) Increased equity and property appreciation.	☐	☐
c) Not having to deal with a landlord whenever you decide to improve or change things in your home.	☐	☐

13. Were there any other important reasons not mentioned so far for making the decision to buy a condominium instead of renting an apartment?

☐ YES (ASK Q.14)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.15)

14. Which one(s)?

____

____

15. At the time you decided to buy a house, did you consider buying a single family house instead of a condominium?

☐ YES (ASK Q.16)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.19)

16. And what were the major reasons you decided to buy a condominium instead of buying a single family house?

Were the following things <u>important</u>, or <u>not important</u> to you in deciding to buy a condominium? Was (____________) important or not important to you?

	IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
a) The cost of condominium housing compared to purchasing a single family house.	☐	☐
b) The choice of area or location where you could afford to live.	☐	☐
c) Maintenance of a condominium in comparison with a single family house.	☐	☐
d) The size of a condominium compared to the size of a single family house.	☐	☐

17. Were there any other important reasons not mentioned so far for making the decision to buy a condominium instead of buying a single family house?

☐ YES (ASK Q.18)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.19)

18. Which one(s)

____

____

19. And now that you have been a condominium owner, are there any problems or things you don't like about the condominium arrangement? (Which one(s)?)

____

____

20. When you were looking for a condominium, how did you find the market -- did you feel you had a <u>choice</u> of condominiums that met your needs, or were there <u>very few choices</u> available to you?

☐ CHOICE

☐ VERY FEW CHOICES

(APARTMENT/CONDOMINIUM)

21. About your (apartment/condominium) again -- how many rooms do you have?

____________________(NO. OF ROOMS)

(DO NOT INCLUDE: BATHS, HALLS, FOYERS, PANTRIES, LAUNDRIES)

22. And how many bedrooms?

____________________(NO. OF BEDROOMS)

23. Now about some characteristics of your apartment.

Were the following things very important, somewhat important, or not important to you in deciding to move here to this apartment/condominium?

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
a) Amount of space or size of rooms	☐	☐	☐
b) Arrangement or lay-out of rooms	☐	☐	☐
c) Appliances that come with apartment	☐	☐	☐
d) Recreational services that come with the building	☐	☐	☐
e) Security system in the building	☐	☐	☐
f) Quality of the view	☐	☐	☐

24. Were there any other things not mentioned so far about the apartment, which were very important to you in making your decision to move here?

☐ YES (ASK Q.25)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.26)

25. Which ones?

____

____

26. In general, how would you rate your present (apartment/condominium) as a place to live -- <u>very good</u>, <u>fairly good</u>, or <u>not very good</u>?

- ☐ VERY GOOD
- ☐ FAIRLY GOOD
- ☐ NOT VERY GOOD

27. Now that you have been living here for ....(YRS/MONTHS) how satisfied are you with the way the building is managed? Would you say you are <u>very satisfied</u>, <u>fairly satisfied</u>, or <u>not very satisfied</u>?

- ☐ VERY SATISFIED
- ☐ FAIRLY SATISFIED
- ☐ NOT VERY SATISFIED

28. INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE

- ☐ RECREATIONAL SERVICES AVAILABLE (ASK Q.29)
- ☐ NO RECREATIONAL SERVICES AVAILABLE (SKIP TO Q.30)

29. Do you now use the recreational services available to you in the building?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

30. And how would you rate the security in the building you are living in? Would you say it is <u>very safe</u>, <u>fairly safe</u>, or <u>not very safe</u>?

- ☐ VERY SAFE
- ☐ FAIRLY SAFE
- ☐ NOT VERY SAFE

(NEIGHBORHOOD)

We would also like to ask you some questions about some characteristics of your neighborhood.

31. Were the following things very important, somewhat important, or not important to you in deciding to move here in this neighborhood?

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
a) Safe neighborhood	☐	☐	☐
b) The quality of public schools	☐	☐	☐
c) Availability of parks and playgrounds	☐	☐	☐
d) Close to shopping	☐	☐	☐
e) Easy to get to work	☐	☐	☐
f) Close to restaurants, theaters, cinemas, and other cultural things	☐	☐	☐
g) Close to friends and relatives	☐	☐	☐
h) City life or city environment	☐	☐	☐

32. In general, how satisfied are you with the shopping in your neighborhood -- groceries, drug stores, cleaners -- things like that? Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, or not very satisfied?

☐ VERY SATISFIED

☐ FAIRLY SATISFIED

☐ NOT VERY SATISFIED

33. How safe do you feel walking around your neighborhood alone at night - pretty safe, pretty unsafe, very unsafe?

☐ PRETTY SAFE

☐ PRETTY UNSAFE

☐ VERY UNSAFE

34. How satisfied are you with street cleaning in your neighborhood -- are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, or not very satisfied?

- ☐ VERY SATISFIED
- ☐ FAIRLY SATISFIED
- ☐ NOT VERY SATISFIED

35. The parks and playgrounds around here would you say they are very good, fairly good, or not very good?

- ☐ VERY GOOD
- ☐ FAIRLY GOOD
- ☐ NOT VERY GOOD

36. How satisfactory is public transportation for getting around in the city from where you live -- is it very good, fairly good, or not very good?

- ☐ VERY GOOD
- ☐ FAIRLY GOOD
- ☐ NOT VERY GOOD

37. And what do you think about the public schools in your area -- would you say they are very good, fairly good, or not very good?

- ☐ VERY GOOD
- ☐ FAIRLY GOOD
- ☐ NOT VERY GOOD
- ☐ DON'T KNOW

38. How likely is it that you will move from this (apartment/condominium) in the next year or two -- is it very likely, fairly likely, or not very likely?

- ☐ VERY LIKELY
- ☐ FAIRLY LIKELY

(ASK Q.39)

- ☐ NOT VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q.42)

39. If you do move, what will be the main reason?

____

40. Where would you most likely move to?

____
(CITY, TOWN, PART OF BOSTON)

41. Would you most likely be owning or renting the place you move to if you decided to move?

- ☐ RENT
- ☐ OWN
- ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY): ______________________________

(RECREATION)

42. Now we're interested in how you spend your free time in general.

If you go out for entertainment what kinds of things do you most often do -- go to the <u>movies</u>, <u>opera</u>, a <u>concert</u>, a <u>play</u>, <u>museum</u>, to <u>eat out</u> in restaurants, or what?

(CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ MOVIE
- ☐ OPERA
- ☐ CONCERT
- ☐ PLAY
- ☐ MUSEUM
- ☐ EAT OUT
- ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY): ______________________________

- ☐ NOTHING

43. How often do you go to downtown Boston for those reasons, once a week or more, a few times a month, once a month, or less often?

- ☐ ONCE A WEEK OR MORE
- ☐ FEW TIMES A MONTH
- ☐ ONCE A MONTH
- ☐ LESS OFTEN

44. Do you think there is enough opportunity in downtown Boston to do those things you like?

- ☐ YES (SKIP TO Q.46)
- ☐ NO (ASK Q.45)

45. What, if anything, would you like to see improved in the way of entertainment or cultural activities available in Boston?

____

____

46. Other than for vacation or an extended period of time, about how often do you leave the city overnight or longer for recreation or pleasure -- several times a month, once a month, several times a year, or less often?

- ☐ SEVERAL TIMES A MONTH
- ☐ ONCE A MONTH
- ☐ SEVERAL TIMES A YEAR
- ☐ LESS OFTEN

47. Do you own a vacation home or cottage outside of Boston?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

48. INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE

☐ APARTMENT DWELLER (ASK Q.49)

☐ CONDOMINIUM DWELLER (SKIP TO Q.56)

(APARTMENT DWELLERS)

49. Now I would like to talk to you once more about your present apartment. One thing we want to get is a good figure on how much it really costs to live in a downtown apartment.

Including your rent and everything you pay for utilities -- heat, electricity, gas and water -- about how much does this apartment cost per month? $________

50. Is there an additional recreational fee which is not included in your rent?

☐ YES (ASK Q.51)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.52)

51. And about how much is your recreational fee per month? $________

52. How many cars do you (and your family) own?

__________(NO. OF CARS)

☐ NONE (SKIP TO Q.62)

53. Do you pay a monthly parking fee in addition to your rent?

☐ YES (ASK Q.54)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.55)

54. How much is the monthly parking fee? $________

55. Do you think it is essential for you to have a car, or would you say it is essential for you to have a car, or could you <u>get along without one</u>?

☐ ESSENTIAL

☐ USEFUL

☐ COULD GET ALONG WITHOUT A CAR

(SKIP TO Q.62)

(CONDOMINIUM DWELLERS)

56. Now I would like to talk to you once more about your condominium. One thing we want to get is a good figure on how much it really costs to live in a condominium.

How much was the purchase price for your unit?

$______________

57. How much is your monthly common area charge? $__________

58. How many cars do you and your family own?

__________(NO. OF CARS)

☐ NONE (SKIP TO Q.62)

59. Do you pay a monthly parking fee?

☐ YES (ASK Q.60)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q. 61)

60. About how much is that per month? $__________

61. Do you think it is <u>essential</u> for you to have a car, or would you say it is <u>useful</u> to you to have a car, or <u>could you get along without one</u>?

☐ ESSENTIAL

☐ USEFUL

☐ COULD GET ALONG WITHOUT

(BACKGROUND AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS)

Now we need some background information, so we can compare your answers with other people's answers.

62. In what religion were you raised -- Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

- ☐ PROTESTANT
- ☐ CATHOLIC
- ☐ JEWISH
- ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY):________________________________

63. How much education have you had? (IF "HIGH SCHOOL" OR COLLEGE" ASK: Did you graduate?)

- ☐ 8 GRADES OR LESS
- ☐ 1 TO 3 YEARS HIGH SCHOOL
- ☐ HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION ONLY
- ☐ 1 TO 3 YEARS COLLEGE
- ☐ COLLEGE GRADUATION ONLY
- ☐ HIGHER DEGREE

64. (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE)

R IS FAMILY HEAD

- ☐ YES (SKIP TO Q.66)
- ☐ NO (ASK Q.65)

65. And how much education has (HEAD) had?

- ☐ 8 GRADES OR LESS
- ☐ 1 TO 3 YEARS HIGH SCHOOL
- ☐ HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION ONLY
- ☐ 1 TO 3 YEARS COLLEGE
- ☐ COLLEGE GRADUATION ONLY
- ☐ HIGHER DEGREE

66. Is (HEAD) working now, retired, unemployed or what?

- ☐ WORKING NOW
- ☐ RETIRED
- ☐ UNEMPLOYED
- ☐ LAID OFF

(ASK Q.67)

- ☐ IN SCHOOL
- ☐ KEEPING HOUSE
- ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY):______________________

(SKIP TO Q.70)

67. What kind of work (does/did) (HEAD) do on his (last) job?

____

____

68. What kind of business or organization (is/was) that in? (What do they do?)

____

____

69. (Does/Did) (HEAD) work for himself or someone else?

- ☐ SELF
- ☐ SOMEONE ELSE
- ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY):______________________________

70. Is there anyone else in your household who is employed at all now?

- ☐ YES (ASK Q.71)
- ☐ NO (IF NO ONE WORKS: SKIP TO Q.76)
  (IF ONLY HEAD WORKS: SKIP TO Q.72)

71. How many?

__________(NO. OF EARNERS IN HOUSEHOLD OTHER THAN HEAD)

72. And now I would like to ask you where you (and the other members of your (family/household) go to work each day. (What part of town is that?) (What street is that on?) (ENTER IN CHART BELOW)

(EACH WORKER)
73. What kind of transportation do you (PERSON) most often use to go to work each day?

(EACH WORKER)
74. And how long does it take you (PERSON) to get to work?

(RESPONDENT ONLY)
75. And how satisfied are you with commuting to work? Would you say you are <u>very satisfied</u>, <u>fairly satisfied</u>, or <u>not very satisfied</u>?

76. Are you (or any other person living here) going to school each day?

☐ YES (ASK Q.77)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.79)

77. What kind of transportation do you (PERSON) most often use to go to school? (ENTER IN CHART BELOW)

78. How long does it take you (PERSON) to go to school?

	RESPONDENT		PERSON 1		PERSON 2	
WORK OR SCHOOL	WORK	SCHOOL	WORK	SCHOOL	WORK	SCHOOL
Location		X		X		X
Mode of transportation to work						
Time to get to work in minutes	____ Minutes	____ Minutes	____ Minutes	____ Minutes	____ Minutes	____ Minutes
Satisfaction with commuting to work	☐ VERY ☐ FAIRLY ☐ NOT VERY	X	X	X	X	X

79. I would like to know your total combined family income for 1972 -- that is, yours, your_________('s) -- before deduction for taxes.

Please include all income received from sources such as social security, retirement benefits, disability benefits, investments, rent and so forth.

I will read a list of categories to you. Please tell me the category into which your annual total income falls.

(IF PERSONAL INTERVIEW HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

A. ☐ LESS THAN $10,000. ASK: Is it more or less than $8,000?

☐ LESS THAN $8,000

☐ MORE THAN $8,000

B. ☐ $10,000 -$15,000. ASK: Is it more or less than $12,000?

☐ LESS THAN $12,000

☐ MORE THAN $12,000

C. ☐ $15,000 - $20,000. ASK: Is it more or less than $18,000?

☐ LESS THAN $18,000

☐ MORE THAN $18,000

D. ☐ $20,000 - $30,000. ASK: Is it more or less than $25,000?

☐ LESS THAN $25,000

☐ MORE THAN $25,000

E. ☐ OVER $30,000

80. Did you receive in 1972 rental income, or income from investments, etc?

- ☐ YES (ASK Q.81)
- ☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.82)

81. Did you include this in the income figure?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO (INTERVIEWER CORRECT INCOME FIGURE IF NECESSARY)

82. (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE)

R OR OTHER FAMILY MEMBER IS 65 OR OLDER

- ☐ YES (ASK Q.83)
- ☐ NO (END OF INTERVIEW - Thank you very much for your time)

83. Did (YOU/PERSON) receive retirement benefits or income from pension?

- ☐ YES (ASK Q.84)
- ☐ NO (END OF INTERVIEW - Thank you very much for your time)

84. Did you include this in the income figure?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO (INTERVIEWER CORRECT INCOME FIGURE IF NECESSARY)

END OF INTERVIEW - Thank you very much for your time.

TIME ENDS:__________ AM / PM

BOSTON
REDEVELOPMENT
AUTHORITY

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